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Who can measure a mother's sorrow?
Mrs. Mamie Bradley (c.), mother of Emmett Louis Till, lynched in Mississippi, being comforted by her parents, Mr. and Mrs. John W. Carthan, just as she left for the trial in Sumner, Miss.

THE FARCE OF TALLAHATCHIE

On Mississippi's conscience: Emmett Louis Till, age 14

By Eugene Gordon

WHITE HALF-BROTHERS Roy Bryant and J. W. Milam in Tallahatchie County Court, Sumner, Miss., on Sept. 23 were declared not guilty of murdering black Emmett Louis Till.

The 14-year-old Chicago boy was ending a two-week vacation with his sharecropper uncle, Moses Wright, when country storekeeper Bryant and farmer Milam, charging that Emmett had wolf-whistled at Mrs. Bryant, took him away shortly after midnight on Sunday, Aug. 28. Tallahatchie River three days later yielded up Emmett's bludgeoned, bullet-punctured body. A Tallahatchie County grand jury on Sept. 6 indicted Bryant and Milam.

Their trial began Sept. 19, after two days spent in selecting a jury of eight farmers, one insurance man, one dragline operator and one retired carpenter from a panel of 125 white men. Two days were given to actual testimony; one to Circuit Judge Curtis M. Swango's charge, summations, and jury deliberations.

The jury, considering only the murder count of the kidnap-murder indictment, deliberated 65 minutes.

ACCUSING FINGER: Moses Wright was the prosecution's first witness. Never before had Sumner's 500 white and Negro residents seen a Negro on the witness stand point out a white man as guilty of a crime. Wright leveled his finger at Milam as the man who, armed with pistol and flashlight, had invaded the cotton-field shanty. Pointing next at Bryant, the Negro sharecropper swore that the two men shook

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WAR & PEACE

President's illness raises fears that 'War Party' will try to block peace

By Tabitha Petran

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

THE EXTENT to which President Eisenhower is regarded as the sole official American spokesman of the Geneva spirit was written plain in the world-wide anxiety produced by news of his illness. In the U. S. S. R. this development was a matter of the "gravest import" since the President's "prolonged absence from the international scene could have an important bearing on the current thaw in the cold war" (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, 9/26). It almost seemed, according to the N. Y. **Times'** Moscow correspondent, that Soviet authorities "were playing down the news lest it give a shock to the hopes that the Soviet people have placed on the campaign to reduce world tension" (9/26).

At UN the President's illness was seen as endangering hopes for spreading the Geneva spirit and making more difficult the complicated task of easing cold war tensions. Here, as elsewhere, it was recalled that twice in the last 18 months, when the U. S. had been led to the very brink of war, the President's personal intervention stayed the hand of the warmakers.

THE WAR PARTY: The President's illness could have profound implications for the prospect of real peace. The war party—made up of the top military leaders, the nationalist wing of the GOP, and a good part of the Democratic Party leadership—has suffered major setbacks in the last year, but not to the extent that it could not regroup itself in a new situation. Vice President Nixon, who apparently will now hold the reins of command for an indeterminate period, is an outspoken protagonist of an aggressive and adventurous foreign policy. As the N. Y. **Post** pointed out (9/26), he is also "an unprincipled opportunist who can play any side of the political street and descend into the lowest gutter whenever there seem to be any votes lying around."

N. Y. Herald Tribune
"We don't have any surplus tanks. Disarmament talks haven't gone that far yet."

Secy. of State Dulles has been the chief architect of the war policy in the post-war decade. Adm. Radford, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, NATO Commander Gen. Gruenther, Air Force Chief Gen. Twining, Naval Chief Adm. Carney—all these have been unceasing agitators for war. Marquis Childs pointed out (N. Y. **Post**, 9/26) that while the President has had some support in his Administration for his foreign policy,

" . . . there also has been opposition from some highly placed officials who

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REPORT TO READERS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

'Open Letter to the American People'

ON THE 166th ANNIVERSARY, Sept. 25, of the adoption of the Bill of Rights in 1789, a significant new group called Americans for Traditional Liberties issued "An Open Letter to the American People" demanding reaffirmation of the historic document and an end to violation of it.

The Open Letter was released to the press and sent to the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights headed by Sen. Thomas R. Hennings (D-Mo.) with the names of 83 prominent signers. It contained a ringing restatement of American liberties and listed nine evils which "must be excised from the body politic . . . to safeguard the meaning and force of our fundamental liberties."

The signers (see p. 2) included Prof. Zechariah Chafee Jr. of Harvard Law School; Edward J. Corsi, former State Industrial Commissioner and recently the center of an Administration controversy resulting in his dismissal from the State Dept. for short-circuiting the Walter-McCarran Immigration Law; Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (CIO); A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL); Very Rev. Frances B. Sayre Jr., dean of Washington Cathedral (Protestant Episcopal); and Leroy Gore, Wisconsin editor and originator of the "Joe Must Go" movement.

The "nine evils" were:

- The climate of fear, making dissent synonymous with disloyalty.
- The arrogation of powers as prosecutors and punitive bodies by some Congressional committees.
- Denials to minorities of such elementary citizenship rights as the vote, establishment of homes and unsegregated schools.
- Denial of the right to confront accusers.
- Deprivation of due process as exemplified by use of the Attorney General's list in fields unrelated to its original limited purpose.
- Loyalty oaths and investigations in areas not related to national security.
- Employment, solicitation and protection of professional political informers.
- Refusal of passports.
- Guilt by association, "now extended to guilt by family relationships."

"SAVAGE AND SUSTAINED": Perhaps for the first time in our history since the adoption of the ten amendments to the Constitution comprising the Bill of Rights, "have such savage and sustained assaults been leveled at our traditional liberties," the Open Letter said, adding:

(Continued on Page 2)

Let's go, team!

If your address-plate reads Oct. '55 or earlier, your subscription is in arrears and is due for renewal. To renew for 1 year mail address-plate with $3. Do it today.

• Be sure to check your address-plate carefully for errors before enclosing. Indicate if you want your paper wrapped. Enclose remittance, mail to:

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

On to '56

YARMOUTH, ME.

For the coming national election of 1956:

Send out a clarion call for leaders of their respective parties interested in establishing a government of, for and by the people and the establishment of world peace and the reduction of taxes.

The representatives should be chosen among organized labor, farmers, professional and small business people. We cannot destroy fascism, colonialism or Wall Streetism by voting for it. Let's amalgamate our forces.

For the two old parties, here is my suggestion:

Hold a convention jointly and elect Winston Churchill chairman.

Chester E. Thompson

USP

MARIN CITY, CALIF.

Name: U.S. People's Progressive Party. (USP).

Program: People's progress, under capitalism, toward people's rule, over socialism.

Californian

Strange bedfollow

FLUSHING, N.Y.

I believe the enclosed item, from Le Monde (Paris, 8/18), may interest your readers:

"Mr. Emanuel Celler, Democratic representative from New York State, now passing through Paris, declared in an interview that France should have the support of the United States in its Moroccan policy.

"'We have big stakes in our bases there,' declared the Congressman. "'If L'Istiqual takes power, its first act would be to attack these bases, because it hates the United States.'"

Original clipping attached.

Norman Plotkin

Benson's faith

PUEBLO, COLO.

Secretary Benson told the visiting Soviet farmers:

"We realize of course that when people are free to grow what they choose, some will do badly but we know that others will do very well and it is our faith that those who do very well will make up for those who do badly."

Does this deserve a niche in your "How Crazy" column?

Paul Stewart

Not crazy, just mixed up.—Ed.

Locked open

LIMA, O.

It is my judgment that urban folks generally do not grasp the importance of the exchange of the recent farm delegations. To me it is equal, if not greater, in importance to the Geneva Summit Conference. Probably a better way to put it would be that Geneva opened the door and the farm delegation exchange locked it open. Together these two events mark an epoch in international relations. Hundreds of thousands saw the Russians here and our Americans in the U.S.S.R. Hundreds of millions of Russians, Americans and other peoples the world over read about them.

Although there will be numerous small outcries from promoters of the cold war, they have lost their power and it is now true that, applying Lincoln's aphorism, they have fooled some of the people all of the time and all of the people some of the time; but now they can't fool all the people all of the time and it is a great majority that they can't fool from now on.

No nation has ever needed statesmen and statesmanship more and had less of both than the U.S. during the last decade. From now on there will be more outspokenness in high places in the realm of sanity in international relations.

Elmer McClain

Reader McClain has for 11 years edited a non-political newsletter, Farming in Russia. He obtained an exclusive interview with the visiting Soviet farmers at the conclusion of their U.S. tour. The following view on the same visit appeared in the Chicago Tribune (clips sent to us by many readers):—Ed.

ARE RUSSIANS DIFFERENT?

Chicago, July 28—Iowans may think the members of the Soviet farm delegation "don't look much different from us." Nevertheless, you should not report such nonsense. My investments in aircraft stock would fall in value if other Americans began to believe such statements. Such investments increased in value precisely because during the cold war we were led to believe the Russians are different. Let's continue that line. It may be only "sales talk" but it does provide employment and it does keep production at high levels.

Do the Iowans want to start an economic depression?

FREE ENTERPRISER

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

As we were about to leave, he said pointedly, "What is capitalism?" Gay said, "Do you like to make money?" And he smiled and replied, "Who doesn't?" "Well," she told him, "a capitalist country is a place where everyone likes to make money and has a chance to do so."

—From "They Let Us Talk to the Russians," Ladies Home Journal, June, 1955.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week. Ada McVickar, Yonkers, N.Y.

Add Legion

BELLE GLADE, FLA.

Too bad L. U. Keckler in the Mailbag of Sept. 12 didn't include the American Legion amongst those who ought to be investigated.

France Lyngholm

. . . for honorable service

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Servicemen's Defense Committee is a group of citizens including ex-servicemen who have been discharged during the past few years. We are proud of the fact that from the day these men were drafted, they served with both honor and integrity.

In spite of our government's knowledge of this, it has seen fit to deny these men Honorable Discharges. Consequently, they are deprived of many veteran's benefits and find their jobs and careers seriously threatened. Allegations concerning pre-service activity of an individual or his relations, or the invoking of Constitutional guarantees, or their elaboration in military law now can handicap a man for life, with an unsatisfactory discharge in no way related to the quality of his military service. The committee insists that Honorable Discharges for honorable service can be the only correct policy for separation from the Armed Forces.

Cases are on record of men receiving Honorable Discharges after 24 months of honorable service—only to receive an Undesirable Discharge while in the inactive reserve. In effect, this gives the military political control over citizens prior to, during, and for six years following their active service.

The Servicemen's Defense Committee is opposed to this military intrusion into civilian life.

Paul Milvy
31 W. 16th St., N.Y.C.

Lost symbol?

HILO, HAWAII

How are our readers taking your decision to have Mr. Belfrage go to England? What portion of them are as disappointed as I am? I have followed his persecution closely—more closely, in fact, than that of most victims of our "morbid and fantastic" times—and I am very unhappy to see the course you have elected to follow. Belfrage in jail? Unthinkable—horrible? Yes, both horrible and unthinkable—but, I feel, infinitely preferable to Belfrage away. What has been gained by the decision to have him leave the scene? His physical freedom, yes—but I cannot convince myself that that freedom is worth the loss we have suffered.

I speak here of the loss to all of us who are foot soldiers in this long war of principles. We need our symbols. We must have them—and better in jail than free in England. Better because in jail he would become what he can never be in England free—the symbol of a victim of a desperate and worried nation. Its representatives are worried enough to try to stop him and desperate enough not to care how it is done.

Now it is done. You still have a contributing editor. We have lost much more.

Stephen Murin

Carrefour, Paris

"Maybe the hurricanes are caused by those Russian and British A-bombs . . ."

Gesundheit

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The following appeared on the front page of the N.Y. Times on Sept. 12:

"A curb must be applied by the city on hospital construction to avoid a surplus of free-care beds, Dr. Basil C. MacLean warned yesterday."

Dr. MacLean is the Commissioner of Hospitals of New York City.

Harry Fries

Worth many bucks

SPOKANE, WASH.

Cedric Belfrage's article from London was worth many times the "buck-of-the-month" pledge. We have our Washintgon Pension Union vs. Brownell coming up soon in Seattle, but shall try to keep up this small amount as long as I humanly can.

Grace Dahlke

Dry ashes

COULTER, PA.

Here is one for posterity:

Sacramento, Sept. 7 (UP). — California Governor Goodwin J. Knight came up with a sobering thought today. He signed an order closing all bars in the event of an atomic attack. (Pittsburgh Press, Sept. 7, 1955).

It was also announced over one of the radio stations in Pittsburgh, Pa., that in case of an atomic surprise attack, the citizens should call up the station and they would tell them just what to do.

Oh, Brother! One born every minute—and most of them live.

Chas. A. Francis

Fold neatly

WORCESTER, MASS.

In answer to "Double the Guard," herewith a little suggestion that might perhaps be of help. I save all my GUARDIANS through each month and, having about 30, 40 papers under my arm all folded neatly, I proceed to seek out tenements and houses in different parts of the city and place them there.

Frank Martin

Remind 'em

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The immigrants built up this country,
They came here at Liberty's call,
But now when the pack
Cries "Immigrants Back,"
Remind 'em we're "Immigrants All."

Vee Emmess

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the progressive newsweekly

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REPORT TO READERS

An Open Letter

(Continued from Page 1)

"We can congratulate ourselves that the deep democratic feelings of Americans found the force and expression to blunt and contain these attacks in time."

It urged the Hennings Committee to "probe every area of constitutional violations boldly and to propose the necessary legislation to bulwark our basic rights."

REAFFIRMATION WANTED: The Open Letter concluded with these paragraphs:

"Present changes in world relationships are tending to relax tensions, providing an opportunity to focus calmly on the problems bequeathed us by a period of hysteria.

"Our stature in international affairs will increase immeasurably and without dependence upon our material wealth or force, if we reaffirm our devotion to the Bill of Rights which electrified the world 166 years ago and which will never lose its power to inspire if we keep it inviolate."

The GUARDIAN herewith reprints the full list of signers in addition to those mentioned on p. 1, in the belief that this list has not appeared generally in the press (the N.Y. Times (9/25) printed the full list):

The Rev. Charles B. Ackley, rector, St. Mary's Protestant Episcopal Church; Dr. H. A. Atkinson, Church Peace Union; Emily Green Balch, honorary president of the Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom; Roger Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union; Irwin R. Beiler, Professor Emeritus, Allegheny College; Dr. John C. Bennett, dean of Union Theological Seminary. Canon Bernard Iddings Bell, adviser on educational affairs to the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Chicago; George Biddle, artist; Marc Blitzstein, composer; Peter Blume, artist; Kay Boyle, writer; Dr. Theburn T. Brumbaugh, Methodist Board of Missions; Gertrude Bussey, chairman, Maryland Civil Liberties Union; Henry J. Cadbury, chairman, American Friends Service Committee; Russell Gordon Carter, author; Prof. Warren B. Catlin, Bowdoin College; Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, chairman, Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union.

O. Edmund Clubb, former director of Chinese affairs, Dept. of State; Russell P. Crawford, president, New York branch, NAACP; Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, Central Methodist Church, Detroit; August Derleth, novelist; Frank Dorey, Professor of Religion, Howard Univ.; Tilford E. Dudley, C.I.O. Political Action Committee, Washington; Prof. Kermit Eby, Univ. of Chicago; Dr. William P. Fenn, United Board of Christian Colleges in China; Rev. George B. Ford, Corpus Christi Roman Catholic Church. Ray Gibbons, director of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches; the Right Rev. Charles K. Gilbert, retired Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York; Dr. Israel Goldstein, natl. president, American Jewish Congress.

Max Greenberg, international president, Retail, Wholesale and Dept. Store Union, C.I.O.; Donald Harrington, minister of Community Church; Helen M. Harris, United Neighborhood Houses; Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester (ret.); Granville Hicks, author; Ira Hirschmann, business man and author; Dr. James L. Hupp, dean, West Virginia Wesleyan Univ.; Morris Iushewitz, secretary-treasurer, C.I.O. Council of New York City; the Rev. John Paul Jones, member of national board, ACLU; Prof. Horace M. Kallen, former dean of graduate faculty, New School for Social Research; Dorothy Kenyon, former Municipal Justice, city chairman, Americans for Democratic Action; Rabbi Edward E. Klein, Stephen Wise Free Synagogue. Philip M. Klutznick, president, B'nai B'rith; Christopher LaFarge, author; Prof. Charles F. Larrowe, Univ. of Utah.

The Right Rev. W. Appleton Lawrence, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Western Massachusetts; Dr. Henry Smith Leiper, exec. secy. of Missions Council, Congregational Christian Churches; Robert Morss Lovett, former Governor, Virgin Islands; Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Harvard; Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College; Dean Ernest O. Melby, School of Education, New York Univ., the Rev. John M. Mulligan, All Angels Protestant Episcopal Church; the Rev. Dr. Robert J. McCracken, Riverside Church; Dr. Robert McIver, chairman emeritus, Dept. of Sociology, Columbia Univ.; Archibald MacLeish, poet and former Assistant Secretary of State; Jerome Nathanson, chairman of board, New York Society for Ethical Culture; the Right Rev. Edward L. Parsons, retired Protestant Episcopal Bishop of San Francisco; the Rev. Albert J. Penner, Broadway Congregational Church; Clarence E. Pickett, honorary secretary, American Friends Service Committee.

The Very Rev. James A. Pike, dean of New York Cathedral (Protestant Episcopal), the Rev. W. Norman Pittenger, General Theological Seminary; Dr. Joachim Prinz, Temple B'nai Abraham, Newark; Prof. J. Saunders Redding, Hampton Institute; the Rev. James H. Robinson, Presbyterian Church of the Master; Dr. Norman B. Salit, former president, Synagogue Council of America; Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, editor, The Churchman; Dr. Joseph Sittler, Chicago Lutheran Seminary; Louise Pettibone Smith, Professor Eemeritus, Wellesley College; Arthur B. Spingarn, president, NAACP; Thelma Stevens, Dept. of Christian Social Relations, Methodist Board of Missions; Rev. Alfred W. Swann, First Congregational Church, Madison, Wis.; Prof. Paul Tillich, Professor of Religion, Harvard; Jerry Voorhis, exec. director, Cooperative League; Prof. Goodwin Watson, Columbia Univ.

Bishop Lloyd C. Wicke of the Methodist Church, Pittsburgh; Aubrey Williams, publisher, Southern Farmer; Winifred Wygal, former official, Young Women's Christian Assn., Mrs. James D. Wyker, national president, United Church Women.

BY TWOS, BY TENS, by hundreds, our citizenry is signing up for the climactic fight for traditional American liberties. Are you doing all you can to add to this list? Why not show the names above to people of eminence in your community who have not acted? We feel sure that Americans for Traditional Liberties (40 E. 40th St., N. Y. 16) will be glad to hear from them; and that the Hennings Committee (Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.) will be duly impressed with a note of concurrence (copy to your local newspaper.) —THE GUARDIAN

CEDRIC BELFRAGE WRITES FROM LONDON

The Guardian got a great hand at Caxton Hall

LONDON, Sept. 23

JUST A MONTH after being deposited across the ocean your editor-in-exile spoke on America Today at his first public meeting, in Caxton Hall hard by Westminster Abbey. Arriving a few minutes after the advertised time, e.-in-e. was greeted by one of those dignified, uniformed "commissionaires" who preside at the entrances of such places here. He said: "The hall is completely packed. You can't possibly get in."

Considering that it was THE night for which the papers said all Britain had been waiting agog—the opening night of commercial TV running in competition with the BBC—this was not a bad showing, phlegmatic observers observed. There were, indeed, people sitting on every inch of floor-space in the small hall. A score or more of others (including a distinguished Harley St. physician and his wife) overflowed hopelessly into the corridor, but they managed to let e.-in-e. climb inside with his missus and Labour MP Konni Zilliacus, who had come with us.

ZILLIACUS

NO. 1 JOB—ROBESON: From the GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer, who presided, to the dozen-odd U.S. political refugees who introduced themselves afterwards (one said: "I was one of Elizabeth Bentley's first Russian spies"), everyone said it was a good show or words to that effect. Anyway your e.-in-e.—who talked about the souring effect of U.S. repression on Anglo-U.S. relations while Anglo-Soviet relations steadily improve, and asked British progressives to give more support to their American brethren—thoroughly enjoyed himself.

The questions and discussion brought out the highly intelligent interest shown by many here in U.S. developments, and especially in those Americans who are still fighting back. To the question how they could best give concrete help right now, your e.-in-e. suggested an all-together push to get Robeson over here to sing "Ballad for Americans" in the Albert Hall.

ABOUT GORDON SCHAFFER: Zilliacus contributed to the discussion a forceful rebuke of British MP's for not making more noise about the U.S. persecutions. He pointed out, however, that the question of e.-in-e.'s deportation had been raised in Commons by another member in addition to himself—by the right-wing Northern Ireland Tory H. Montgomery Hyde (with whom e.-in-e. lunched this week).

Schaffer, a top-flight journalist whose dispatches datelined all over Europe probably appear in more papers in more countries than anyone else's in the trade, puts the rest of us to shame by the amount of active work he finds time to do for progressive organizations. Among other things he's chairman of the British peace committee. For many years assistant editor of the Co-Operative organ **Reynolds News**, he lives in a Thames-side house in the suburb of Kingston, bought with his severance pay when **Reynolds** fired him as too progressive. He told the Caxton Hall audience that he considers the GUARDIAN the best weekly newspaper in the English language, and asked for a show of appreciation to the whole GUARDIAN staff—which was given in a long and warm round of applause.

* * * *

TALKS WITH TWO VYING British publishers about a book summing up your e.-in-e.'s "affair with America" bring the first chapter of the exile to a close, as we proceed over the pond for a preliminary look-see at France and Switzerland.

From here, the exile presents a not unbearable—certainly a very busy—look. We have already found, furnished with second-hand necessities, and moved into a flat overlooking a garden square lit at night by those dim, ancient but charming gas street-lights reminiscent of a Hitchcock movie.

THEIR DAILY BREAD: We are geared to the more sedate pace of British life but find that things can move here at record speed. In a single day we got light, gas and phone switched on, furniture bought at an auction and delivered. Aspects of British life which inspire some horror include the popular press (papers with biggest sales are just daily magazines of sensation and superficiality), and the ever-rising cost of living. With much lower salary scales and higher taxes, rent and meat cost about the same as in the U.S., dairy products and other food appreciably less; cigarettes cost twice as much and—to the total dismay of a pipe-smoker—tobacco six times as much.

Average British families eat meagerly by U.S. standards and are not exactly delighted when they read that Washington (according to the N.Y. **Times** this week) sees as the "main source" of Britain's impending economic trouble the fact that "Britain is consuming disproportionately more than she should." Brighter aspects include the postal service, far more efficient than in the U.S.; the clean, comfortable subways and buses, always with conductor as well as driver; and the National Health Service, free from soup to nuts to all, including foreigners, for payment of a few shillings a week.

HEALTH AND TRAVEL: Needing some minor surgery done last week, your e.-in-e. saw the local Health Service doctor and within two hours was on the operating table in a clean, modern hospital. One waits for service in a lobby pleasantly set up like a cafe with a drink and sandwich buffet. For all the medicines prescribed, there is a charge of 15c at the dispensary in the corner of the lobby; otherwise all you pay is the bus fare.

Most exciting moment so far for your recently iron-curtained scribe was when, about a week after filling in the forms, Her Britannic Majesty's passport was delivered by the postman. Her Majesty's approach to the question of travel by her subjects is a decidedly winning one. This is what is stamped in the passport in the same space where, in a U.S. passport (if you can get one), it is declared invalid for all the socialist countries:

Herblock in Washington Post

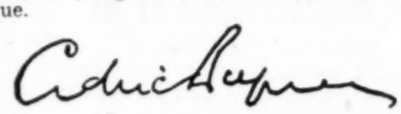
"There—that ought to bring 'em in."

"Valid for British Commonwealth, U.S.A., all countries in Europe including the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. . . ."

ONE COUNTRY LEFT OUT: The only reason why the U.S.S.R. is specified by name is that it is partly in Asia. (British passports basically do not cover Asian countries, but getting them added on the "Valid For" page is a formality). Her Britannic Majesty is old-fashioned about her geography: obstinately, she still regards socialist European countries as being in Europe.

It's a shame that her gracious permission for your e.-in-e. to visit the U.S. is overridden by Czar Herb Brownell's ukase to the opposite effect. But one facet of being an e.-in-e. is that he may go to any country in the world except one.

Well, that's Britain—where an ad exhibited in every subway car for a new flaming toothpaste says: "Everyone is going red," and nobody seems to want to argue.



BARNET AND GORDON FIRINGS

2 N.Y. News Guild grievance units refuse to fight for pair who would not inform

ON JULY 13 the Senate Internal Security subcommittee produced its prize informer in the newspaper field, Columbia Broadcasting System's commentator Winston Burdett who named a number of newsmen as "communists." Some were called to the stand and joined him in naming others. Melvin Barnet of the N.Y. **Times** and David A. Gordon of the **Daily News** refused to inform. Both said they are not now Communists, invoked the Fifth Amendment in declining to discuss past associations.

Before he stepped off the stand Barnet was told the **Times** had fired him. The **News** fired Gordon a few days later. The N.Y. Newspaper Guild (CIO), committed by its last convention to defend the constitutional rights of its members, announced that while it appreciated the committee's objectives, it would contest the firings.

EXPLANATION: Last week the grievance committees of the Guild units on both papers notified both men they would not fight their cases. The **News** unit committee's announcement was terse. The **Times** committee spelled out its reasons:

MELVIN BARNET
They outdid the publisher

Barnet took the Fifth to shield others, not himself; he had not consulted Guild counsel before testifying; he showed "little real concern for his job, for the effect his testimony would have on the Guild or on the **Times**"; he seemed "genuinely interested only in being dismissed for pleading the Fifth Amendment"; he had said he might leave his job anyway; the **Times** had said there would be no witch-hunts and to prove it, had retained two reporters who were willing to inform; the Guild grievance committee believes "every loyal American should co-operate with authorized government agencies investigating communism"; Barnet's use of the Fifth shows "an indifference to the best welfare of the country."

LOW BLOWS: In answer Barnet commented on "the committee's apparent compulsion not only to kick me in the pants but also to belabor me elsewhere below the belt." He charged the committee with "attempting to build a more extensive case against the union member whom it was supposed to defend than management itself had succeeded in constructing." The committee co-chairman is **Times'** labor expert A. H. Raskin. Barnet wrote:

> "The resolution of self-justification smacks of company unionism; the hand is the hand of Raskin but the voice is the voice of [**Times** publisher] Sulzberger."

Barnet said the **Times**, which "has been an advocate of amnesty for Communists who left their party before the Berlin airlift," would not admit that he was being fired solely because he had "availed himself of a Constitutional privilege in order not to rat. . . ."

ALL ENDANGERED: Gordon, in a statement to **News** members of the Guild appealing his unit's grievance committee's decision, remarked that "I have received the impression that they would like me to fade away without fuss." He added that the fact "that a union grievance committee supports the publisher's position is cause for alarm among all Guild members and particularly those on the **Daily News.**" Gordon emphasized that the outcome of his case will affect all **News** employes and wrote:

> "For the Newspaper Guild, this case represents much more than one individual's life and work. If the **News** editorially supports the Republican Party, and a **News** employe votes for the Democratic Party, will that now become a cause for discharge? How many new pretexts for firing will the **News** management now invent, and how much job security will **News** employes have, if this case is permitted to be scuttled?"

The grievance committee's decisions were to be reviewed by the full **Times** unit of the Guild Oct. 3 and by the **News** unit Sept. 29. Guild officials promised that Barnet's statement would be circulated in advance of his unit's meeting. Unit recommendations would then go the union's city-wide executive board and finally to N.Y. Guild's representative assembly.

Days of our years

Editor, Buffalo **Courier-Express:**

It's strange that this country has a day dedicated to labor and none dedicated to capitalism and free enterprise.—G. H.

The strikes that bloom in the Spring, tra-la . . .

"IN the past twenty years most of our industrial disputes and political differences have arisen between January and April.

"Perhaps men's tempers are found wanting at home and they carry their dissatisfaction into pit and workshop.

"Wives may find the thought of spring-cleaning sufficient to set them off the handle on trivialities and dog the poor men so that they retaliate elsewhere."

—Sam Watson, Durham Miners' leader, reported in the London Daily Herald, Aug. 24, 1955.

A SHAME BEFORE GOD

20,000 at protest rally in N.Y. demand U.S. act on lynching

ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON, Sept. 25, Mrs. Mamie Bradley, mother of the lynched Emmett Louis Till, told 4,000 people who filled Harlem's Lafayette Theater and 16,000 more who stood outside:

"If a little nobody like me and a little nobody son of mine can arouse people as you have been aroused, then it is God's work and my boy hasn't died in vain.

"What I saw in that courtroom for the two days I was permitted in it was a shame before God and man. It was a comedy—a farce. But the verdict itself, the expected verdict, didn't matter much."

RESOLVED: The crowd was plainly aroused and showed it, shouting their approval of resolutions proposed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

which called the rally along with the Williams Institutional Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. The meeting demanded that

- President Eisenhower call a special session of Congress to enact anti-lynch legislation;
- U.S. Atty. Gen. Brownell join Mississippi Gov. Hugh White in investigating the whereabouts of two Negro witnesses to Roy Bryant's and J. W. Milam's kidnapping of Emmett Till.
- The President and Dept. of Justice investigate the general "reign of terror now sweeping the state of Mississippi and other parts of the South."

Also applauded were proposals to "march on Mississippi" and to set up a "refugee committee" to receive and care for Negro escapees from white-supremacy terror.

Mrs. Bradley was accompanied by her father, John Carthan, and a cousin, Rayfield Mooty, who also escorted her when she went to Mississippi as a witness for the prosecution. Mooty is president of CIO Local 3911 United Steelworkrs.

NO TIME FOR TEARS: Mrs. Bradley said that after she had looked for the last time upon her son's body she had had no more time for tears. She has dedicated herself, she said, to fighting to prevent such a thing ever happening again.

NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins referred to late news reports of President Eisenhower's heart attack and observed that "the Negro vote will be a crucial factor in 1956, whether we like it or not." It was up to the Negro, he said, to "make Congress pass civil rights bills."

The loudest and longest applause of the afternoon greeted Randolph when he said:

"If the United States can send its armed forces 6,000 miles across the seas to fight Korean and Chinese Communists, in the interest of world democracy, it would appear that the federal government should use its vast powers to stop the lynching of Negro citizens by Mississippi racists, in the interest of American democracy."

Atlantic City was never like this

You've seen a lot of Miss America, but do you know about Miss United States? She is Coletta Warren, of Williamson, W. Va., shown above being crowned at New York's Carnegie Hall Sept. 17 by Dolores Grigsby. Looking on is Joanna Warren of Hampton, Va., runner-up. In the Free World we segregate even beauty.

The Mississippi trial

(Continued from Page 1)

the child awake, dragged him to a darkened car out front, and drove away with him.

Milam and Bryant had already told Leflore County deputy sheriff George W. Smith practically the same story. Wright added something they hadn't told: a third man—"who acted like a colored man"—had stood in the shadows on the porch while Milam and Bryant were inside.

Rumors of important prosecution witnesses remained just rumors. The Negro field hands reported to have seen the actual murder were not found. Forced Negro accomplices of the kidnappers were never produced. The prosecution's only "surprise" witness was teen-aged field-hand Willie Reed. His bravery in pointing out Milam as a man he had seen enter a barn where somebody was "hollering" won reporters' praise.

IT WAS MY BOY: Special prosecutor Robert Smith called "Mamie Bradley," Emmett's attractive young mother. Dignified and restrained, she testified that she last saw her son alive "when he left home to visit my uncle, Moses Wright"; and that the next time she saw him was when they opened the coffin in Chicago. Was she sure the body was that of her son, she was asked. She said slowly:

"I looked at the ears, the forehead, the nose, the lips, the chin. I knew definitely that it was my boy, beyond a shadow of a doubt."

Smith asked whether she had ever before seen a ring, taken from a finger of the corpse in the river. She said it had belonged to Louis Till, Emmett's father, sent to her after the elder Till's death in World War II. Until recently Emmett's finger had been too small to wear it. She allowed him to wear it on his Mississippi vacation and recalled that she had exclaimed happily: "Gee! You're getting to be a big boy now!"

ANGLO-SAXON JURY: Despite the clinching evidence of the ring, the defense pegged much of its case on the contention that the body found in the river was not Emmett Till's. They offered this theory: Bryant and Milam had turned Emmett loose. His uncle had borrowed the ring and, with the help of an NAACP representative, had slipped it on the finger of a corpse obtained from a Negro undertaker and tossed the corpse in the river.

Judge Swango would not let the jury hear Mrs. Bryant tell a story calculated to whip white supremacy feelings to a new pitch. She said she had been "accosted" in the store by a "Northern" Negro who grabbed her hand, called her "baby," and tried to date her.

Summing up, attorney John W. Whitten Jr. told the jury he knew that "every last Anglo-Saxon one of you has the courage" to acquit.

IS CONGRESS LEGAL? Throughout the trial local customs of disrespect were maintained intact. Both prosecution and defense called quiet and dignified Mrs. Bradley "Mamie" and Mr. Wright either Mose or "Uncle" Mose. Negro reporters, although they broke Sumner precedent by interviewing whites, were jimcrowed at a card table set up off to one side of the courtroom. Rep. Charles C. Diggs (D-Mich.) had to sit there when he arrived as an observer. A white spectator asked who the distinguished-looking Negro was. Told he was a Congressman, she asked: "But is that legal?" Returning home after the trial, Rep. Diggs told the press:

"I think the basis of representation in Mississippi should be reduced. The total population is used for basing the number of Congressmen, but the Negroes, included in the totals, are not permitted to vote. . . . Tallahatchie County, where the trial was held, has not a single registered Negro voter, although Negroes make up 63.5% of that county's population."

ANGER AND CONTEMPT: Southern editorial comment was typified by the Memphis (Tenn.) **Commercial Appeal** which believed that

". . . if the jury hearing this circumstantial evidence had agreed on conviction the decision would have been reversed by any appeals court in the land, including Mississippi, Illinois and New York."

The Greenville (Miss.) **Delta-Democrat Times** condemned the NAACP for its "blanket accusation of decent people."

The N.Y. **Post** expressed

". . . anger at the despicable little men who dared suggest that Emmett Till's 'alleged' death was the hoax of 'outside agitators' in search of an issue, contempt for the condition of Southern justice which enabled the defense to claim Mrs. Bradley could not recognize the body of her own son. . . . Nevertheless, prosecutor Chatham and Judge Swango did seem to speak for a fragment of the South which no longer assumes that a Negro may be justifiably murdered for an alleged impropriety that white men direct against Negro women every minute of every day of every year."

Bryant and Milam have been remanded for trial in Leflore County on the kidnap charge. Bail was assured. By the time the trial comes up the prosecution's key witnesses Moses Wright and Willie Reed are not likely to be available. Both may have to move North for protection.

Arkansas State Press

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". . . our all"

"The newspaper industry . . . serves one of the most vital of all general interests: the dissemination of news from as many different sources and with as many different facets and colors as is possible. That interest is closely akin to, if, indeed, it is not the same as the interest protected by the First Amendment; it presupposes that right conclusions are more likely to be gathered out of a multitude of tongues than through any kind of authoritative selection. To many this is, and always will be, folly; but we have staked upon it our all."

—Judge Learned Hand

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THE NEW REGIME IS JITTERY

Argentina: It was not a people's revolt

By Elmer Bendiner

THE NEW REGIME in Argentina was enthusiastically hailed last week by the U. S. press; by Wall St. speculators in Argentine bonds; by exiled ex-Peronists in Uruguay, and by a number of young people who sang of liberty in rain-drenched Buenos Aires streets. Missing from the celebration were Argentina's workers.

Joseph Newman writing from Buenos Aires in the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** (9/23) commented:

> "It is still possible that the real test has yet to come and the military victors are hesitant to engage in celebrations which might prove premature. . . . The basic point which is likely to determine the future is whether organized labor is biding its time to strike back or whether it, too, has become deeply divided and disillusioned with Peron. . . .
>
> "The general public went into hiding when the trouble started. Civilians did not participate in it in any real sense, and it would be a mistake to think there has been anything in the nature of a popular uprising."

FOR THE OLIGARCHY: Britain's **New Statesman and Nation** (9/24) outlined the storm yet to come:

> "So far, the rebellion has been an affair purely of armed force. But the social forces which lie behind it are a combination of *ancien regime* officers, hereditary owners of property and the Roman Catholic Church; and their purpose is to restore, in the name of democracy, the privileges of the church and the ruling-class oligarchy. In order to achieve these objectives the rebels will have to begin, before long, to take political decisions. And this is where their troubles may really begin."

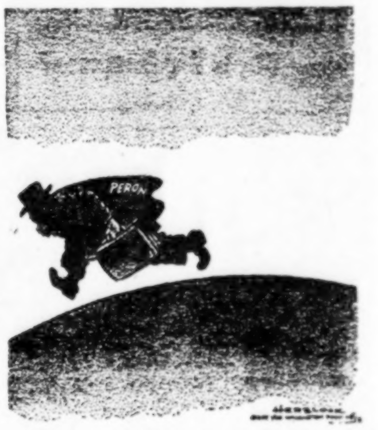
News of the workers was scanty. After describing Buenos Aires crowds joyfully ripping down statues of Juan and Eva Peron, the N. Y. **Times'** Edward A. Morrow reported (9/22):

> "In another demonstration railroad workers fought a crowd that attempted to topple a statue of Eva Peron in the Belgrano railroad station. One person was killed in the shooting that ensued."

In another dispatch the **Times** (9/21) drew a picture of continuing civil war:

> "Violence came to Mendoza at 5 p.m. yesterday, when 40 armed men belonging to the pro-Peron Confedn. of Labor were killed by troops after they had killed an officer and two soldiers and wounded three soldiers. A state of war prevails in this city of 250,000 inhabitants tonight."

THE REAL TARGET: "Loyalist" and "rebel" generals found it easy to unite. Under "loyalist" command tanks reduced to rubble the headquarters of Alianza Popular Libertador in the middle of Buenos Aires with casualties of at least 80 dead and wounded. The Alianza was a small pro-fascist group of Peron supporters but the full-scale offensive had a broader target. A **Times** dispatch (9/21) said:



BEFORE . . . AND AFTER →

Herblock in Washington Post

> "Observers believe it will probably keep the General Confedn. of Labor from pursuing any plan it may have had to cause disturbances."

Robert M. Hallett in the **Christian Science Monitor** (9/21) summed up the new regime's problem:

> "In particular, that element among the laboring classes that followed Gen. Peron must be made to feel it has a stake in the new Argentina, or will have to be suppressed if it rises."

The new regime was plainly jittery. The generals and admirals, both loyalist and rebel, came ashore from their conferences aboard a battleship with a new president of the "provisional government," Maj. Gen. Eduardo Lonardi. He was quartered in Cordoba and put off his entry into Buenos Aires until Sept. 23 to take adequate precautions.

THE NEW PRESIDENT: As Lonardi sped from the airport to the Casa Rosada where he spoke to throngs of supporters in the Plaza de Mayo, drawbridges were raised sealing off the workers' districts from the capital and tanks surrounded workers' rallying points. Nevertheless, violence broke out in the Avellanada district of Buenos Aires and in the industrial cities of Rosario and Santa Fe. The disorders were put down by planes and tanks. How many were killed was not known. The Army warned that anyone found in Rosario's streets after 8 p.m. would be "shot on sight."

Gen. Lonardi, acclaimed as a veteran anti-Peronist, did well under Peron, advancing swiftly from lieut. colonel. He showed no sign of democratic opposition to Peron's tyranny for six years and loyally stuck to his post as commander of the third army. He broke not with Peron but with Evita, maintaining in 1951 that he could not stomach "petticoat rule." In that year he wrote to Peron denouncing a proposal—later abandoned—to make Evita vice president. He was retired shortly afterward and spent the rest of the Peronist era operating a small factory in a Buenos Aires suburb, selling insurance and participating in abortive military cabals.

HOW FREE IS FREE? Questioned by reporters Lonardi promised elections in six or eight months "as soon as new electoral rolls are prepared." He also favored a constitutional amendment limiting presidents to only one term each, denounced communism as "alien" to Argentina and said: "We are nationalists, Catholics and Democrats."

He ruled out labor as a factor in government by warning that unions "must serve only the interests of the workers without influencing national policies." He promised complete freedom of the press because "we are not afraid of this or any other freedom."

As Gen. Lonardi spoke, the **AP** (9/22) reported:

> "Every day this week newspapers have had to send proof sheets of their stories to the Army Ministry. The censor has eliminated large parts of some stories. In one case of nine columns submitted to the censor, four columns were eliminated. Editors said such censorship had never been imposed here before in modern times."

WAY WITH A CROWD: U.S. correspondents reported a turn-over in the jails, with anti-Peronists coming out and Peronists going in; but those specifically mentioned as released were only the clericals, generals and admirals, with a sprinkling of Radical Party people, jailed since the June 16 coup. No mention was made of the unionists, students and communists jailed without trial under Peron's "state of internal warfare," in effect more than a year.

In his speech from the Casa Rosada Lonardi skillfully wooed the crowd. When even his supporters began shouting: "California no" (in reference to the oil give-away negotiated, but never ratified, by Peron and Standard Oil of California), Lonardi promised to kill the deal.

He showed a Peronist flair for promises, all somewhat vague, and an adroitness in bribing leadership with small favors. He asked for workers' support while his guns covered their demonstrations, but seemingly won over some of the CGT leadership. The Confederation's secy.-treas., Hugo de Pietro, who a few days before had called on the workers to give their lives for Peron, asked them to be calm and announced that the CGT would continue to operate the newspaper **La Prensa** which had been confiscated by Peron and given to the CGT.

UNPRECEDENTED SPEED: The exiled editor of **La Prensa**, Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, had been feted in New York while he prepared for a triumphant return. His son was already in Buenos Aires with copy for the first editorial after "liberation." Dr. Gainza was reported "incredulous" at the news.

Washington had no misgivings, broke all records in rushing to recognize the Lonardi government. The N. Y. **Times**, reporting it could find no precedent for such speed, said it "was intended to demonstrate U. S. goodwill toward the new regime." The Vatican also was among the first to recognize.

The **Times** was enthusiastically on the side of the new government even before it took shape. An editorial (9/21) took hope from a racist view:

> "The Argentines are an advanced, mature people of European stock. There is no question whatever that the material for a free and good government is there and will rise as soon as the opportunity offers."

In another editorial (9/23) the **Times** called the strength of the shirtless a "bluff" but warned:

> "There may well be strikes and industrial unrest in the coming weeks, for the workers will be stirred up by the Peronistas and the Communists and many of them will fear a return to the old, bad days."

WALL ST. WATCHING: In Wall Street Argentine bonds and stocks rose in a flurry at the news. The Wall St. **Journal** indicated its own criteria for support:

> "The present top man, Gen. Lonardi, is tentatively rated 'friendly' to U. S. interests. . . . American experts eye possible tips on whether the new leaders will share Peron's yearning for U. S. investments. They watch Kaiser's auto building contracts, a still unsigned $60 million Export-Import Bank loan to finance a new steel mill."

Peron himself, with a safe-conduct from the new regime, sailed off in a Paraguayan gunboat, reportedly accompanied by a 19-year-old bride Laura del Solar, to a plushy retirement.

CEYLON KIDNAPPING CASE

Rhoda De Silva's suit against airline upheld in significant court decision

TRANS WORLD AIRLINES had asked Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan to dismiss Rhoda Miller De Silva's $200,000 damage suit against it on the ground that Mrs. De Silva had claimed protection of the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer questions relating to her and her husband's political affiliations. Last week Judge Ryan threw out TWA's petition and allowed the suit to continue.

The case grew out of the "blitz deportation"—amounting to kidnaping—of Mrs. De Silva from Kandy, Ceylon, to New York on March 17, 1954. An American journalist married to a Ceylonese, she was taken from her home by Ceylonese police on a deportation warrant and put aboard a TWA airliner at Colombo. TWA held her aboard the plane, refusing to allow her to telephone her husband or communicate with the authorities when the plane stopped at Bombay. A habeas corpus writ had been issued at Colombo an hour after the plane took off, but her imprisonment aboard the TWA plane prevented its being served. TWA officials had told her:

> "We are carrying out orders to return you to New York—by force if necessary."

MARITAL PRIVILEGE: Mrs. De Silva was released in New York wearing only the thin cotton dress and sandals she wore when she was whisked from her home in Ceylon. She had $1.40, less than the cost of a bus from Idlewild Airport to Manhattan. Since that March day a year and a half ago Mrs. De Silva has fought a two-front battle: to rejoin her husband and to sue TWA for its complicity in her kidnaping.

In her pre-trial examination, TWA attorneys asked Mrs. De Silva whether she or her husband had ever been members of the Communist Party. She invoked the Fifth Amendment and also the marital privilege in declining to testify about her husband. TWA then moved to dismiss the suit. In arguing against the motion Mrs. De Silva, through her attorney Charles Recht, and counsel Osmond Fraenkel, posed the question broadly enough to set a significant precedent:

> "[TWA] seeks to demonstrate that if I am a Communist, or if it can be shown or even insinuated that I am one, no stigma can be attached to it for its participation in this act, no matter how repugnant it may be to those who are guided by civilized law and custom. Defendant . . . is stating that were I a Communist it would then be quite proper for it to engage in a conspiracy with the Ceylon Prime Minister and the U.S Embassy in Ceylon, to kidnap me, deny me a writ of habeas corpus, charges and hearing, break up my home and deposit me 12,000 miles away, like cargo, at a point chosen by them with no reference to the human beings involved. If the motion of the defendant is sustained, it would be tantamount to saying that were I a Communist I would be entitled to no legal redress or protection: I would be outside the law."

RIGHTS UPHELD: Mrs. De Silva argued that if her suit were tossed out it would enable

> ". . . every hit-and-run driver or negligent landlord to compel the injured pedestrian or tenant to prove that he is not a Communist before he can have his day in court."

Judge Ryan, in rejecting TWA's motion to dismiss, in effect reaffirmed the legal rights of Communists or those who claim the protection of the Fifth Amendment. The suit is to continue, though no trial date has yet been set.

Give This Paper To A Friend

CARL BRADEN ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF HIS CASE

'Great changes' near in the South

By Carl Braden
Special to the Guardian

LOUISVILLE, KY.

A MAJORITY of the white people in the South are ready to end segregation if they get help and encouragement from outside the South. A large number of people in the North are ready to offer that help and encouragement. The problem is to bring these two streams together.

These are some of the conclusions I have reached since my release from the Kentucky State Prison on July 12 under $40,000 bond. They are based on talks with many people in Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, New York, New Jersey, and even Canada.

My wife and I went South immediately after I got out of prison. We went primarily to get our two children, Jimmy, 4, and Anita, 2½. We had been separated from them for 10 months as a result of the sedition charges against us. The children had stayed with Anne's parents in Alabama.

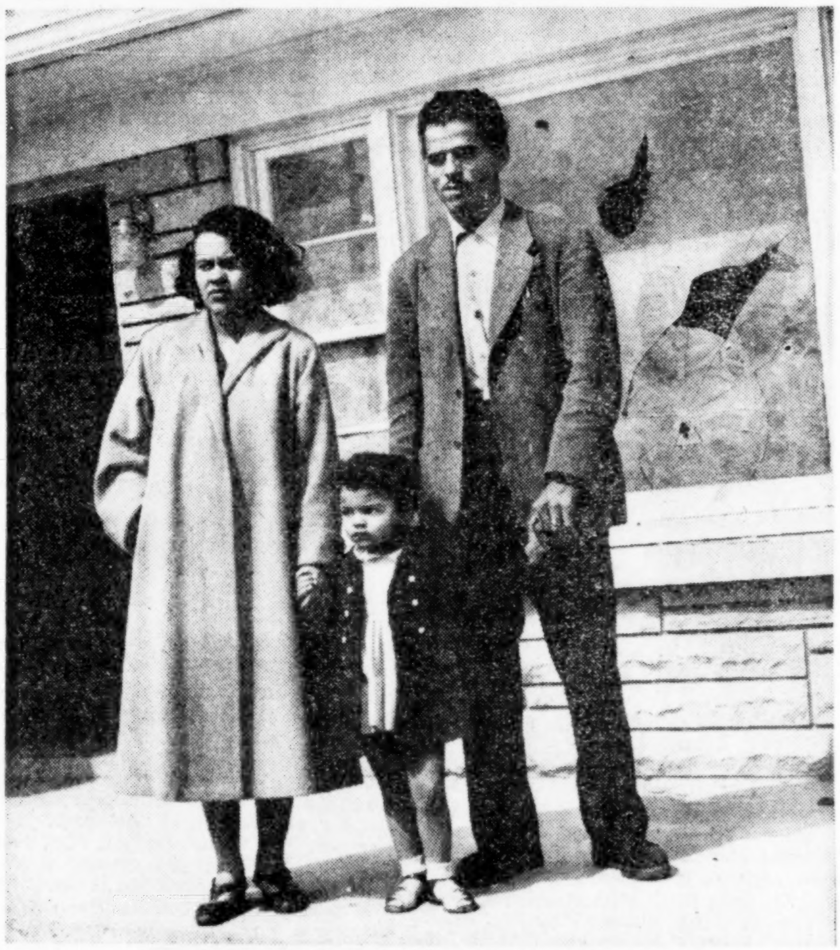
THE REASON WHY: Most GUARDIAN readers know that sedition charges were brought against Anne and me because we bought a house for a Negro family in a so-called white neighborhood in Louisville. Later the house was partly destroyed by dynamite and the prosecution said we helped plot the bombing. I was given 15 years in prison and my appeal will be heard this fall.

We thought we knew why the white supremacists were so violent and vicious, but we wanted to check with others in the South before setting forth the conclusions stated at the beginning of this article.

It is a historical fact that reaction is always the most violent on the eve of great social changes. This period is no exception. The reactionaries in the South know that the days of segregation are nearing an end. The question is whether the good people can keep evil men from forcing this change to come about violently. We believe the change can come peacefully if the good people will act.

COST OF JIM CROW: The young people of the South form the hard core of those who want an end to the poisonous system of separating Negro and white. Desegregated military service has had its effect. The colleges have contributed a lot. The Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation in schools and housing had great weight.

Add to this the fact that most small farmers and workers in the South have never really hated the Negro or held him in contempt. They have appeared to only when whipped up by politicians and rich men who benefit from keeping people divided. There is a long record of fraternization between the races, even in the Deep South.



THE WADES IN FRONT OF THEIR ILL-FATED HOME
Before the dynamite there were rocks and threatening calls

More and more workers are seeing that segregation costs them money. They realize that so long as workers are divided along color lines the labor unions in the South will remain weaker than those in the North. This weakness keeps wages low, and this in turn has a serious effect on the living standards of all the American people.

LOW PAY & RUNAWAY: Northern workers also realize this. Their quick grasp of the situation was reflected by the tremendous reception I received in Detroit. I had already been given the full support of the United Packinghouse Workers (CIO), which is strong in the Midwest and is carrying on a militant organizing drive in the South.

In Detroit I spoke to many leaders of the CIO and the United Automobile Workers (CIO). I also addressed hundreds of workers at meetings of UAW locals. I pointed out that the purpose of the Kentucky sedition charges is to stop desegregation because the reactionaries want to keep the workers divided. This keeps the unions relatively weak and maintains the South as a low-wage area. Plants in the North continue to run away to the South, leaving the Northern workers jobless.

WHO WILL LEAD? The auto workers took collections from the floor at practically every meeting I addressed. Most of the locals also voted funds to help pay the heavy cost of fighting the Kentucky sedition cases. On top of that, they adopted resolutions condemning the persecution of white people who work with Negroes to improve conditions.

Just as they led the way to industrial organization in the 30's, so the auto workers may help show the way to organization of the South on a desegregated basis. It is the only way that a really solid and progressive trade-union movement will be built there.

Such a movement will also be a powerful weapon against sedition and criminal syndicalism laws. I am going about the country enlisting support in the fight to end segregation in the South because gains in this fight will mean victory on many fronts. Neither the workers in the South nor those in the North can afford to lose it.

(Carl Braden may be contacted for talks before your labor, church, or civic organization by writing him at P. O. Box 1302, Louisville 1, Ky. Contributions to help finance his defense may also be sent there.)

Free world culture note

ROME, Aug. 21 (AP)—Elsa Maxwell is giving her most fabulous party this week. The famous hostess is taking Aly Khan, Perle Mesta and 108 other friends on a two-week yacht trip of Greece.

"It's for fun and culture combined," Miss Maxwell explained in an interview. "My friend, the King of Greece, thought it would help the Greek tourist industry. I think the idea is really very charming and so we are going."

N. Y. Daily News, 8/22.

THE BLANK SPACE ON THE WALL

The Unhanging of Dick McSmear

A LARGE BLANK SPACE on the wall of the San Francisco Art Festival last month stole the show. When the exhibit opened the space was occupied by a lithograph of Vice-President Nixon depicted in an earlier stage of his career when he was a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee: he wore a black mask and carried in one hand a paint brush and bucket labeled "smear" and in the other a pumpkin presumably from Whittaker Chambers' crop.

THE ARNAUTOFF LITHOGRAPH

It was deftly done by one of the country's leading artists, Victor Arnautoff of the Stanford Univ. faculty, who titled it "Dick McSmear" and called it a "political comment on McCarthyism." It had a price tag of $25. Within a few hours after the show opened Sylvia Horblit, secretary to Art Commission president Harold Zellerbach, answered the phone, heard a voice identify itself as the FBI. She gave the call to her boss and shortly thereafter Zellerbach ordered the lithograph removed. Zellerbach said:

> "While I defend the right of artists to uninhibited self-expression, the proper forum hardly appears to be a municipally sponsored art festival."

THEY'RE SERIOUS: Festival Director Felix Rosenthal called the work "very sensitively done," said he wouldn't have ordered it down, recalled that some of the world's greatest art had "been provoked by bitter political struggle." Charles Lindstrom, asst. curator of San Francisco's M. H. de Young Museum, praised its "degree of competence and execution," said he hadn't seen it before it was accepted but "if I had reviewed it I certainly would have applauded it."

Arnautoff's fellow artists began circulating petitions to put the lithograph back. The art public in the Bay area, which took its art seriously enough to raise the roof when Anton Refregier's post office murals were under attack, began to light fires under the Commission.

NIXON'S GESTURE: In the midst of the battle Vice-President Nixon wired Commissioner Zellenbach that though it was "probable" that most Americans disagreed with Arnautoff, he had

> "the right to express a contrary opinion [and] . . . the people should not be denied a full opportunity to hear or see his expression of that opinion."

The noble gesture was somewhat joggled by Nixon's expressed willingness to see Zellerbach's point of view that a show paid for by the public was "not the proper forum for partisan political cartoons." It was tarnished further by an overtone in Nixon's reminder that the artist's views "have particular significance" since he is "on the staff of one of America's great universities." The move was reduced to pointlessness since the telegram arrived after the show had closed down. Still, it was Richard Nixon's finest hour.

A REPORTER'S CANDID COMMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL REPORTING

The news you read and how it is made

By Wilfred Burchett
Noted Foreign Correspondent

HANOI, VIETNAM

DURING the past few years, I have covered, among other events, three of major international importance—the Korean armistice talks, the Geneva Conference on Indo-China and the Asian-African Conference at Bandung. In the case of the first two, the question of life or death for millions of human beings hung on the outcome. The third was an unprecedented historical event with delegates of almost two-thirds of humanity meeting for the first time at governmental level to discuss ways and means of settling their own problems and making a common contribution to solve the outstanding international problems of the day.

Yet, the public in the Western world, with the exception of the readers of a tiny handful of progressive papers, had no clear or connected picture of what was going on at these conferences. This was not for lack of journalists or technical means of flashing news back to the editorial desks of the world press. On important days at Panmunjom there were several hundred journalists present; at the opening of the Geneva Conference there were 1,000, and at Bandung about 500 pressmen. But the happenings were lost in the fog of lies, half-lies, distortions and, above all, omissions.

On the day following the agreement at Geneva, I asked a correspondent of the **United Press** how the public reacted to the conference. He said:

> "Well, people are kind of puzzled. Every day for the past 3 months they've read that the conference was about to break down, that there was no chance of agreement. Suddenly there's an agreement. We're all busy as hell today trying to explain it."

His colleague from the **Associated Press** standing by said:

> "We operate on the good old basis that the great newspaper reading public will have forgotten by tomorrow what it has read today."

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, as the other two I have mentioned, was treated in typical splash headline style, with the major news agencies competing with each other for sensational stories which fitted into one set pattern of preparing public opinion for the failure of the conference.

During the entire two years of the Korean armistice talks, the Western public was kept in almost complete ignorance of what was taking place. Even the activities and the proposals of the American delegation were hidden from the public, because it was important for the American delegates that the public should not know that their activities were designed to avoid an armistice and not to conclude one. Serious proposals from the Korean-Chinese side, acceptance of which could have ended the war on principles which the American delegates pretended were their own, were suppressed entirely in the Western press or presented in a distorted way.

In this case, it was not entirely the journalists' fault, but the deliberate policy of American press information officers who, instead of keeping journalists informed, dealt in lies and deceit. The **N. Y. Times, N. Y. Herald Tribune, Time** magazine and **Newsweek** published numerous complaints from their correspondents on the spot that the only reliable news they received from the conference was from journalists of the "Communist" press accredited to the Korean-Chinese delegation.

WILFRED BURCHETT
There was no resemblance to reality

At Bandung, the Asian-African conference was presented in large sections of the Western press in terms of a sensational East-West clash, with the "champions" of the West engaged in a daily, deadly struggle with the "Communists" for leadership in the Asian-African region. This was the normal treatment, but it had no bearing on the conference. Instead there was serious, hard work at the highest level which resulted in historically important decisions which got little or no space at all in the Western press.

OBJECTIVITY in covering international events has virtually ceased to exist as far as the Western press is concerned. This is a matter of profound disquiet to many hundreds of capable craftsmen among Western foreign correspondents. The objective journalist working in the Western press has been fighting a difficult battle for years, but the real death blow to objectivity was dealt with the U. S. declaration of "Cold War" against "Communism."

KOREA: A REPORTER IS INTERVIEWED
Allan Winnington (hatless) of the London "Daily Worker," surrounded by Western reporters at Kaesong.

The principle of objectivity in reporting used to be regarded as one of the golden rules of journalism. Objectivity was understood by correspondents who knew their craft as accurately reporting what is typical, significant and new in the daily developments of international events and conferences, digging out the facts and presenting them to the newspaper reader so the latter had an informed basis for his own stand in international affairs. Of course objectivity does not mean that a journalist does not take sides. He is not a machine, but a human being with his own political and social ideas, his own ethics. Goethe in "My Profession as Writer" expressed this well when he wrote: "I can promise to be correct but not impartial."

At big international conferences, there are hundreds of thousands of words spoken or distributed each day. The limit for a newspaper or news agency must be counted in hundreds or at most thousands of words. The correspondent must do the reducing, and it is here that his own judgment, and so his own stand, plays a part.

Ideally speaking, if the jorunalist were for peace in Korea or Indo-China, against colonialism, racialism and atomic wars, he would present clearly and truthfully, with excerpts from speeches and touches of atmosphere, the case for those delegates who were supporting peace or a ban on atom bombs and just as clearly and truthfully the arguments of those supporting the opposite case. He could do this without any departing from objectivity. His own sympathies may result in a more approving treatment for those who stand for peace than those who stand against it, but he has still not departed from objectivity as long as he does not depart from a truthful portrayal.

The journalist who is against peace, for colonialism, racialism and atomic wars cannot be objective. He cannot openly present himself to his readers as being against peace or for colonialism, etc. Nor can he expose the reactionary stand of the side he supports. To do so would get him in trouble with his own government and employer. He has to abandon objectivity in order to camouflage and distort what is going on.

THERE IS NO contradiction between a journalist supporting peace and objectively reporting international events. His difficulties do not lie there. They lie first of all in accurately getting at the facts and, secondly, in getting them past his editor and newspaper owner to the public. And that is where the "Cold War" stands between him and his public.

This has led to a decline in the quality of foreign correspondents, especially American. Where today are the big names of American foreign reporting from between the two world wars, journalists known for their objective approach to European and Asian problems? They have virtually disappeared from the scene.

A non-American journalist who reported from Bandung how an American diplomat had astounded his Arab hosts by turning his back on Chou En-lai at a banquet, received a sharp, cabled reprimand not to write "anti-American" stories. There are a handful of European and British journalists whose reputations are such that they can, from time to time and on specific issues, hint at the real state of affairs. But by and large, the average would-be objective journalist fumes and writhes and goes into all sorts of contortions to slip something past the editor in order that the public can get some glimmering of what is going on. The average Western journalist who believes in peace and the international decencies, can no longer write objectively. And in my experience he is very conscious about this and is unhappy about the situation.

THERE IS, of course, another element which has sold out completely to those who stand for war and muddying the international situation. Most of them were spawned in the early "Cold War" days and their work thus bears the corresponding disfiguring birth-marks. A typical example is the following **United Press** report on the transfer of Haiphong from the French to Vietnam People's Army. It was published in the Hongkong **Standard** among other papers on May 14, 1955:

> "Communist troops waving clenched fists thundered triumphantly into Haiphong in Russian Molotov trucks today and the Iron Curtain fell on Indo-China's best naval base. Jubilant convoys of black-and-green-clad Vietminh Communist troops rumbled into the big harbor to the blast of martial music and the braying din of sound trucks screeching the praises of Ho Chi Minh. The French tri-color fell at dawn. The crimson Communist banner studded with golden stars was hoisted in a bloodless victory over the city's citadel. . . ."

Every fact in this story is false. Vietnam Army troops did not thunder in but marched in on foot and there were no clenched fists. They were clad in their normal khaki uniforms, not in black and green. There was no martial music or music of any kind. Sound-trucks were present but did not "screech" praises. Instead they urged the population to be calm so as not to interfere with the transfer operation. The French tri-color was lowered in the late afternoon—not at dawn—and the flag of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is red with a single, golden star—not "crimson . . . studded with golden stars." The fact that no "iron curtain" fell was evident to correspondents present, a number of them from right-wing newspapers who stayed on in Haiphong for several days after the transfer, taking pictures when and where they wanted and leaving in their own good time without anyone asking them to. The term "bloodless victory" was an insult to Vietnam dead at Dien Bien Phu and scores of other battlefields during the eight years' war of resistance.

In the same issue of the same paper, an **AP** report states:

> "Vietminh army sound trucks, moving ahead of grim Red soldiers, shouldering rifles with fixed bayonets, blared to the city's people the chilling order: Every person who collaborated with the French and Vietnamese forces must report immediately to the nearest police station! . . .'"

In fact a nine-point appeal was broadcast from sound-trucks and pasted up in prominent positions urging the people to take up their normal tasks and help the new administration get the city back to normal. Point 2 said:

> "To public officials who previously worked with the French or Bao Dai administration, please return to your posts and carry on your normal work."

Which is exactly what the majority of them did as their colleagues had done in Hanoi seven months previously.

THE NECESSITY for establishing some sort of international standards of "objectivity" in reporting has been recognized for a long time by journalists of widely differing viewpoints. There are very few who would openly oppose the desirability of objective reporting and certain minimum standards of professional conduct. Ways and means of ensuring these are matters which an international gathering of journalists could profitably discuss.

—From The Democratic Journalist, organ of the Intl. Organization of Journalists.

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

did not want to see tensions relaxed and the cold war ended. They never openly opposed the President but they spoke against his policy in private. And the question now is whether at this critical, betwixt-and-between stage there is sufficient impetus to carry on what has been started."

PEACE PRESSURE GOES ON: Washington reports freely predicted a resurgence of "know-nothingism" and a renewed drive by the war party for a more aggressive foreign policy. Some observers recalled how Roosevelt's policy of American-Soviet co-operation was completely reversed in the two weeks following his death, by cold war protagonists he had brought into the government; they pointed with concern to the "eager beaver" activities already apparent in the Nixon camp.

But, whoever is in command, Washington will be subjected to the mounting worldwide pressures for peace. Geneva itself was a response to these pressures. In the post-Geneva period the pressures have become even greater —primarily a result of the U.S.S.R.'s active peace diplomacy. Pointing to the "impressive" effect "upon peoples and governments" of the whole sequence of recent Soviet moves to relax world tensions, the **NYT**'s London correspondent declared (9/25) that "the steady revival of neutralism in west Europe should no longer provoke shocked surprise in the U.S." He added:

> "The events were planted in fertile soil. There existed in all countries concerned, even at the height of the East-West crisis, elements advocating neutralist policies. Although it was unfashionable to say so at the time, these elements had extensive popular backing. . . . [Consequently now] the Atlantic Alliance is losing both popular and governmental backing."

UN's FIRST WEEK: The impact of this active Soviet peace diplomacy, and the evidence of sharpening tensions among the colonial powers of the Western alliance, were the most notable features of the opening week of the UN Assembly's 10th session. Until the news came of the President's illness, Moscow's diplomatic initiative was the chief topic of conversation among delegates—including Western representatives who privately conceded its "high effectiveness" and "far reaching influence." At the same time, the open U.S. line-up with the colonial powers in the Assembly's refusal to take up the questions of Cyprus and Algeria—a shift from other years when the U.S. has tried to play both sides of the street on colonial issues—dramatized the growing difficulties within the Western military bloc.

Anti-Greek rioting in the capital of Turkey

This is a street in Istanbul littered with loot and wreckage of Greek-owned shops pillaged in last month's riots against Cyprus' demand for self-determination. Several Greek Orthodox churches were burned, as well as the Greek consulate at Smyrna.

The contrast between the barrenness of Washington's diplomacy and the resourcefulness of Moscow's was underlined in the policy speeches on successive days of Dulles and Foreign Minister Molotov. If Dulles' speech was designed, as the **Christian Science Monitor** (9/22) said, as "a first step toward mobilizing world support" for a "highest level" U.S. government decision "to make the Kremlin pay a tangible price" for any relaxation of tension, it failed signally.

THE DULLES SPEECH: UN comment tended to dismiss the speech as "insignificant." Observers pointedly asked how Washington proposed to enforce its demands; emphasized the absence of any U.S. diplomatic initiative since Geneva, in contrast to countless Soviet moves, and stressed "the need for a new western approach."

Yet, coming from Dulles, the speech—although largely a restatement of rigid U.S. positions—was not without significance. Except for its references to China, its tone reflected a Geneva-like moderation. There was a faint suggestion of a softening of the U.S. position on admission of new members to the UN. And Dulles, longtime spokesman for a Washington-led crusade "to liberate the satellites," seemed to abandon this crusade when he said:

> "What in fact the Soviet Union does about them [Eastern Europe and international communism] will, to many, be a barometer of the Soviet's real intentions."

In other words, the responsibility for Eastrn Europe, would, in Dulles' view, seem now to be Moscow's rather than Washington's.

THE MOLOTOV SPEECH: Molotov's broad review of the post-Geneva world emphasized the increasingly decisive role in world affairs played by the "popular movement for peace"; the "growing determination in favor of a policy of non-participation in aggressive military blocs and coalitions" in some countries, and Soviet support for the aspirations of the Africa and Asia peoples for national independence.

Declaring that the UN's "primary objective" must be termination of the arms race, Molotov restated the U.S.S.R.'s disarmament proposals and introduced a resolution calling on the Assembly (1) to endorse, and ask continuation of, Geneva's peace efforts, and (2) to give sympathetic study to all the disarmament proposals presented at Geneva by the four powers.

This resolution is almost certain to have more appeal than a projected U.S. resolution asking the Assembly to endorse the Eisenhower mutual inspection plan alone. The **N.Y. Post** (9/25) pointed out that on the question of disarmament, as on its approach to industrially underdeveloped countries,

> ". . . the Soviet Union took stands that are bound . . . to prove more attractive in the long run to other parts of the world than those of the U.S."

RIOTS IN TURKEY: When the U.S. joined with Britain and France to vote against UN discussion of self-determination for Cyprus (demanded by Greece) and Algeria (demanded by 14 Arab-Asian countries), it won no friends and may have given Greece a decisive push toward neutralism. Recent violent anti-Greek riots in Turkey were originally inspired by the Turkish government, according to U.S. correspondents, but also contained strong elements of "the haves against the have-nots" and of "straight anti-government demonstration" (**NYHT, 9/25**). They exposed the rickety structure of Washington's Turkish bastion and fanned smoldering enmities at the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

Secy. Dulles' notes to Greece and Turkey "calling on them to be good boys" and remember "how much aid the U.S. has given them" (**NYT, 9/24**), produced this comment in one of Athens' leading newspapers:

> "His message is a revolting and unacceptable composition of cynicism, guilty falsification of reality and insolent behavior toward an honest people. Silence would have been a thousand times preferable."

ASSEMBLY DEBATE: The **NYT**'s Athens correspondent warned that Dulles' words "had the effect of pouring gasoline on the fire" and that neutralism was "sweeping public opinion," while some influential leaders "are beginning to think in terms of an alternative foreign policy." In both Turkey and Greece, the economic situation—inflation, the great disparity between the few who are rich and the many who are poor—is contributing to new situations developing.

At last year's Assembly debate, Greece, under U.S. pressure, voted with the colonial powers not to consider the Cyprus question further. This year, after the Assembly by a vote of 28-22 had rejected the Greek request for debate on Cyprus, the Greek delegate in a strong speech declared that only when "the marshalling of opinion" in UN ends and only "with the decline of constellations" will there be a "really free world." This was one indication, in the Assembly's opening days, of the slow breaking up of cold war line-ups in some parts of the world.

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"All the Americans we meet are Senators. Who does the work in your country?"

SMITH ACT VICTIM

Ailing 'Pop' Mindel is refused a parole

A FEDERAL Parole Board last week denied parole to Jacob (Pop) Mindel, 74-year-old ailing Communist leader now serving a two-year sentence in Danbury Penitentiary under the "conspiracy" provisions of the Smith Act. He became eligible for parole Sept. 2. Without parole the earliest he can win release is August, 1956.

Hundreds of citizens joined in appeals for his release from prison. He had been ill and retired for years before his indictment with other Communist leaders in 1951. He was stricken with a heart attack during his trial and removed by stretcher from the courtroom. The trial judge refused to sever his case.

Just before the parole appeal, presented by his wife and family Sept. 22, philosopher Bertrand Russell had written asking freedom for Mindel.

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Sign up a friend today for a GUARDIAN sub. Only $3 for 52 exciting issues.

A LETTER FROM TEXAS

Beer bottles and bullets—and progress too

LONGVIEW, TEXAS

THANKS for the good response last month with financial aid, clothes for needy families—and books for our "suit case" library. Several little girls and boys started back to school better dressed—and their mothers thank you. One tenant farmer-preacher who received a much-needed suit said: "Everywhere this suit goes, people are going to hear about God and our union." More needed.

Sharecroppers on some of the large farms are "signing up," according to word from volunteer organizers . . . and meetings are being held regularly in several communities in a six-county area. Our rural workers, both colored and white, know that only by their unity in a strong, militant organization can all emerge from poverty and exploitation and take their rightful places as full citizens. Even now, during the formation period, many problems are being solved and wrongs "righted" through collective planning and action.

MIDNIGHT RAIDS: Cotton migrants among our members are now chopping cotton in West Texas and others are preparing for the fall cotton-picking migration. Some groups have field stewards who, in addition to on-the-job duties, are keeping in touch with the committee chairmen back home.

Beer bottles and bullets and vile insults were hurled at homes in a colored farm community near Longview, recently, in a new outbreak of midnight raids apparently aimed at leaders in last spring's victorious school election. One bullet barely missed an occupied bed. However, these night raids, together with the current organization of East Texas "citizens councils" and rumored return of a kindred group, the KKK, are only strengthening the rural people's determination to unite in an all-out fight for justice for all, regardless of color or creed.

SCHOOLS ARE WANTED: Rural colored families want school houses instead of school shacks—they want new books issued to their children instead of worn, hand-me-down books. Pupils and teachers are tired of working with inadequate equipment. Workers are tired of getting the worst jobs and the lowest pay—and colored farmers want an even break in state and federal aid and information. Many white neighbors fully sympathize but few dare to speak out. Only a few religious leaders have dared to speak out in local churches.

But don't "write the South off" as hopeless! Since 15 years ago, when we were here before, there has been progress. Not enough progress—but some. Colored rural teachers no longer must accept monthly salaries as low as $40 and $50 with a "kick-back" on part of that. Then, only a few voted—now, failure to get your poll tax ("fighting reaction with its own weapon") lands you in the political "dog house." This awakening giant is rapidly becoming aware of its own strength—and that strength is welcomed by all who believe in freedom and the "more abundant life" for ALL—not for a favored few.

—**Harry Koger**, Rural Workers Organizing Comm., Route 3, Longview, Texas.

JOHN WEXLEY'S BOOK

'Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg' moves reviewers to question the trial

GUARDIAN READERS will be interested in the general press comment on John Wexley's book **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.** The **N. Y. Post,** in a review Aug. 21 by Nancy F. Wechsler, charged Wexley with being biased and not presenting the material fairly. However, the reviewer commented:

"To the extent that Wexley does succeed in casting doubt on certain aspects of the government's case and on the fairness of the trial, it is not because his politics or his method commend themselves to the reader's sympathy, but because in spite of them there are grounds for concern whether full justice was done."

The **Post** reviewer also commented:

"Whether Sobell should have been convicted on the meagre record against him, whether Greenglass's claimed reproduction of a cross-section of the atomic bomb was sufficiently credible to support the convictions or the sentences, whether the subject of Communist affiliation was introduced in a way calculated to prejudice the defendants, whether the tactics of the prosecution or the demeanor of the judge impaired the fairness of the proceedings, whether the defendants were convicted and sentenced on a record which might not have produced the same results in calmer times—all these are real issues which call for honest appraisal."

"AN AWFUL DOUBT": In the Indianapolis News July 23, Herbert Kenny Jr. commented:

"One doesn't feel completely 'safe' with Wexley as a guide through the labyrinth of the Rosenberg case. And yet, he raises an awful doubt that perhaps justice wasn't done, that a political frameup was successfully pulled off."

Carey McWilliams, in a review titled "An American Tragedy" in the Aug. 27 **Nation,** wrote:

"Recognition that the handling of the Rosenberg-Sobell case, from its inception to the unseeming haste with which the final motions were disposed of, did not measure up to the standards of American justice will come slowly, painfully, one phase at a time, as the nightmare of fear and suspicion out of which it emerged is finally dispelled."

The Cleveland **Call and Post,** Negro newspaper, on July 2 said:

"Some day, when the Rosenberg case has taken its place in history with the Dreyfus case in France, and the Scottsboro and similar cases here, copies of Wexley's remarkable work will be very difficult to obtain."

In the August **Library Journal,** a review by George Adelman, assistant at the Boston Public Library, said:

"Wexley emphasizes the point of view of many here and abroad, anti-Communist as well as Communist, that the Rosenbergs were victims of a national state of hysteria."

NEW PAMPHLETS

An accurate primer on Latin America

LATIN AMERICA HITS the news pages —and the minds of U. S. progressives—like lightning flashes, generally when a dictator is toppled or installed, when revolutions seem to come out of nowhere. Progressives ask questions for a week or so, then consign the whole continent of 160 million Americans to the back of the stove as colorful but beside the point.

In U. S. progressives the fault is doubly dangerous, for Latin America is the preserve of our own big business. There lie our natural responsibilities and our natural allies. What has long been needed is a handbook of the empire. Herman Olden and the Labor Research Associates have condensed the fundamentals of that continent into a neat primer.*

The author set out to do the impossible and came close to succeeding: to write in 64 pages a coherent, accurate summary of Latin America. It would have to be overly-concise in four times that many pages. His stress is on the U. S. economic domination of Latin America, but he also gives quick views of the resistance and of Latin America's complex, varied political, social, ethnic problems. **E. B.**

**U. S. OVER LATIN AMERICA by Herman Olden, in collaboration with Labor Research Assn., International Publishers, 381 4th Av., N. Y. 16, 50c.*

The China market—and what it means

OLD CHINA HANDS used to dream what it would mean to American businessmen if every Chinese could add an inch to his shirt or trousers. Under Chiang Kai-shek, Chinese shirts and trousers shrank instead of lengthening. Today, as Julian Schuman points out in his pamphlet,* Americans paradoxically are barred from tapping the "illimitable market" of a united China as it is being rapidly industrialized under a stable, popular government.

Even as Americans are worrying about the health of their economy, Schuman's brief but factually-rich pamphlet supplies some needed vitamins by answering these questions: How big and how real is this China market? Is it a stable and growing market? Can the Chinese pay?

Schuman—who spent six years in China as a journalist—says that trade with China "could mean that 'marginal difference' between disaster or jobs for thousands of Americans in industry." He quotes China's Foreign Trade Minister Nan Han-chen's estimate that "Chinese trade with private enterprise countries can reach one to two billion dollars a year." **K. G.**

**IS THERE A U. S.-CHINA MARKET? by Julian Schuman. 16 pp. Room 925, 152 W. 42d St., New York, N. Y. 10c. 8c per copy for 50 or more.*

JIM CROW'S CAREER

The race problem

IN his timely book, **The Strange Career of Jim Crow,** C. Vann Woodward says that, though segregation in the public schools, churches and armed forces of the South was established during the Reconstruction period after the Civil War, there was even then "on the whole good feelings between the races, and no segregation in public services. The conservative whites were opposed to segregation and regarded squeamishness about contact with Negroes as a sign of white lower-class status. Nor were Negroes completely disfranchised."

He believes that Southern capitulation to racism resulted from the "economic and political conflicts among divided white people." The Negro became the scapegoat. The threat of the Populists seeking the support of landless Negroes raised the fear of Negro domination. Woodward says that segregation grew out of economic conflicts, and the race problem was **made,** and man can **unmake** it.

The author says that whites and blacks lived together, after the Negro was free, without the need of a system of segregation. But surely he must admit that though they in a sense "lived together," the social barriers between the races were so wide, that so long as the Negro "knew his place," segregation was not necessary. But the book is a wholesome refutation of those who insist that segregation is rooted and grounded in the nature of things, a law of nature.

—The Churchman, Sept., 1955.

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MENZIES' PUNCTURED BOGEYMAN

Australia spy report aimed at killing spirit of Geneva

By Kumar Goshal

ON THE EVE of the May 29, 1954, general elections, it was conceded that Australian Prime Minister Robert Z. Menzies' tory government—grown unpopular by accepting Japanese re-armament and relaxing import controls on Japanese goods—faced a serious challenge from Dr. Herbert Evatt's Labour Party. Six weeks before the vote, Menzies dramatically announced that Vladimir Petrov, a third secretary in the Soviet embassy at Canberra, had given the government information about a vast network of Soviet spies working through members of the Australian Communist Party and Labour Party.

It was generally acknowledged that Menzies sprang the Petrov case with "hopes this will be a major influence on the electors" (Sidney **Morning Herald**, 5/5/54). The British **Manchester Guardian** (4/15/54) found the "timing of Petrov's defection . . . politically opportune for the government," giving Menzies "the big stick" in the elections. Menzies won.

On Sept. 14 of this year Menzies—a faithful follower of Washington's policy—issued the Report of a Royal Commission on Soviet Espionage on the Petrov case. Once again the "timing" of the release seemed "opportune": it coincided with Washington's effort to undermine the spirit of Geneva.

THE MAIN POINTS: The Royal Commission's report, ostensibly describing far-reaching Soviet espionage in Australia imperiling the security of "the whole Western world," boils down to the following charges:

- From 1943-53 the Soviet Union maintained two espionage organizations in Australia "rigidly controlled" from Moscow.
- The principal targets were the Dept. of External Affairs and operations of U. S. "intelligence and counter-intelligence" organizations in Australia.
- "The Communist Party [supplied] the fundamental organization for this [spy] force."
- There was a third espionage organization set up so as to function independently in time of war or other emergency.
- In October, 1953, the Soviet Embassy through Petrov paid $25,000 to CP secy. Lawrence L. Sharkey.

VLADIMIR PETROV
Ever see a $25 dollar bill?

WELL, SOME SORT . . . : A careful reading of the published extracts of the report disclosed that the accusations are based primarily on surmises depending chiefly on statements by Petrov and his wife. At the outset the report asserts that the commissioners were "able to discover little more than the fact that [an intelligence] apparatus was functioning in Australia." It goes on to say that the first intelligence chief "was probably Zaitsev," and "military espionage work . . . may have been under the control of Makarov, an embassy official." The report also declared that the Commission had "no knowledge whether [the third espionage organization] was or is still operating in Australia."

The commissioners found "circumstances" significant enough "to suggest existence of some sort of organization here interested in Soviet espionage." But, it added,

"... from material before us we think it unlikely that the Australian Communist Party as a party had any connection with Soviet espionage here."

JUST FERGIT IT: The Commissioners themselves make the most damaging comment on the spy scare when they say that with the

"... legal rules governing the admissibility of evidence in courts of law, it would appear that prosecution of none of the persons whose acts we have considered in our report would be warranted."

Two significant omissions expose the hollowness of the report: (1) a sum of $11,250 paid to Petrov by the Australian security police; (2) the Australian CP's puncturing the story of the $25,000 it allegedly received from the U. S. S. R.

On Aug. 13, 1954, the Labour Party disclosed that on April 4—the day after Petrov left his embassy job and before he allegedly handed over documents to the Menzies government—the security police had paid him $11,250. Dr. Evatt at the time charged the Menzies government with having bought the Petrov documents for "unduly and improperly influencing people of Australia at a general elections." Asked why he had suppressed this information, Menzies lamely explained that he had learned of the payment on May 9 and had advised that "an announcement should be made in the proper place and the whole matter examined."

5, 10 AND 25: At a hearing of the Royal Commission on Feb. 8, 1955, counsel for CP secy. Sharkey noted that:

- Petrov at first had said that he had counted the $25,000 in "five and 25 dollar bills," later changed it to five and 10 dollar bills.
- The government never explained why, if the Soviet embassy wished to pay Sharkey, it had chosen to make it in conspicuous U. S. dollars rather than Australian currency.
- At the time—admittedly fixed with the help of the secret police—that Petrov was supposed to have paid Sharkey, the CP secretary was at a conference in a building watched by the security police.

The CP counsel said the $25,000 story was "inherently improbable [and] is torn to pieces by its internal contradictions."

"TRANSPARENT FRAUD": Dr. Evatt, who last year compared the "Petrov documents" with the "notorious Zinoviev Letter . . . used to defeat a Labour government" in the British 1924 elections, has characterized the Royal Commission report as "one of the most transparent political frauds in modern history."

WAGNER IS STILL GETTING IT

Protests pile up on Delany's rejection; Negro press bitter over snub to judge

PROTESTS CONTINUED last week against Mayor Wagner's rejection of Hubert T. Delany for a new 10-year term as justice of the Domestic Relations Court. Latest protestants included the 150 churches of the Bronx section, Protestant Council of New York. The council's executive committee declared itself "concerned with the welfare [of the court], the conditions of which Judge Delany was constantly trying to improve"; condemned Wagner for "making the judge guilty, in the eyes of the public, of associating with subversive groups."

The Baltimore **Afro-American** (9/24) also demanded "a better explanation" than that Delany held "left-wing" views. The Mayor's action, in the **Afro's** opinion,

"... could mean only that [Delany] is a strong anti-segregationist, and this certainly casts no reflection on either his loyalty or his ability as a judge."

THE HIDDEN ACCUSERS: An **Amsterdam News** story (9/24) quoted "a highly-placed city spokesman . . . who refused to be identified":

"Justice Delany was not renamed by Mayor Wagner because [Delany] lent the prestige and influence of a New York City judgeship repeatedly to the speaking platforms and letterheads of organizations and groups which have followed the pro-Communist line."

The **Amsterdam News** writer quotes Delany as having said at a 1953 Teachers Union rally to "Restore Our Schools to Freedom" that while only one drop of "Negro blood" made a white man a Negro, "all you have to do to become a Communist" is to find yourself in the same hall with one.

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NEW YORK

6 teachers suspended despite state opinion on informing

DR. JAMES ALLEN JR. (l.) and DR. LEWIS A. WILSON

NEW YORK STATE Commissioner of Education James E. Allen and his predecessor in office, Dr. Lewis A. Wilson (shown above), have made it plain that teachers should not have to turn informer to keep their jobs. Last July, before he retired, Dr. Wilson ruled that "a Board of Education is without power to require a teacher to answer questions relating to possible knowledge of other persons who may have been associated with the Communist Party."

A month later the N. Y. City Board of Education directed Supt. of Schools William Jansen to suspend one principal and five teachers who had refused to inform. Dr. Allen, new in his office, reaffirmed Dr. Wilson's position and granted a petition by a teacher, Harry Adler, to stay the suspension of himself and others "similarly situated." Jansen nevertheless suspended the five "similarly situated" on the term's opening day, and later in the week suspended Adler.

To circumvent the Commissioner's ruling Jansen indicated there were charges other than "refusing to inform," although Asst. Corporation Counsel Saul Moskoff indicated to the press that informing was the issue. Moskoff added that nine other teachers who had refused to "name names" had changed their minds as a result of the Board's action.

Jansen revealed no other charges to the suspended teachers, but at the Board of Education meeting on Sept. 29 he would have to spell them out to win Board approval for the suspensions.

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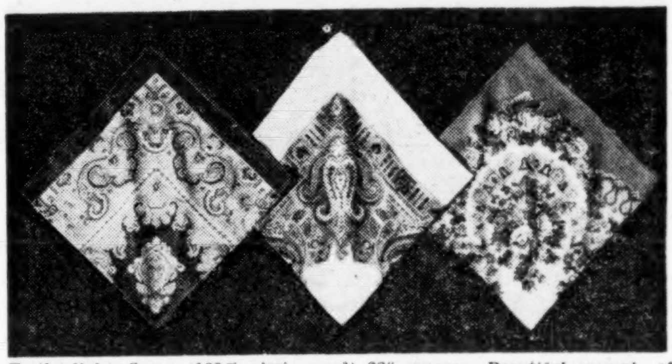

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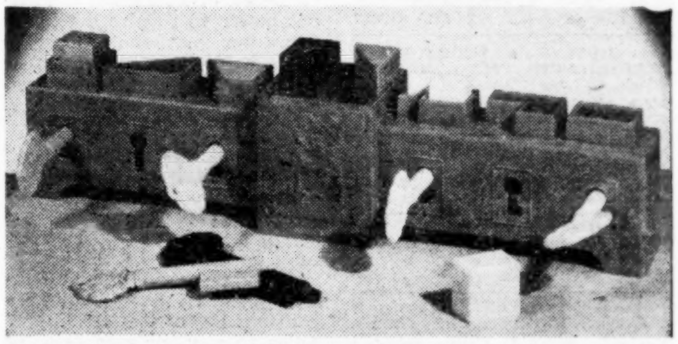

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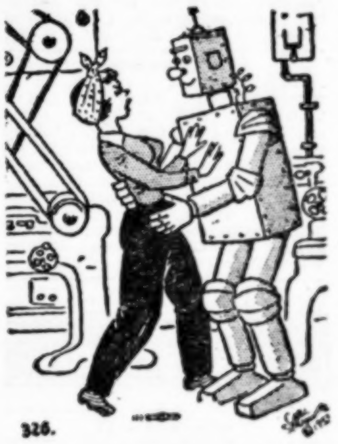
Tovarich Spaceman

POPULAR SCIENCE FICTION has its authors and, we may be sure, its followers in the Soviet Union. **Stories,*** by I. A. Yefremov, contains seven short novels and a novelette, all first-rate in the old tradition of realistic adventure and in the newer one of science fiction. The author's word-paintings of an Arctic winter, life at sea, a trek over the Gobi desert and other parts of Central Asia are exceptionally good. But then the author, who has been a soldier, seaman, truck driver, laboratory assistant, field geologist, palaeontologist and scientific administrator, has been to the places he describes so vividly. As for his imaginary adventures in science, he says:

> "To speak of scientific achievements yet to come as of realities, and in this way to lead the reader to the most advanced outposts of science—such are the tasks of science fiction as I see them.'



326.

Labor's Daily, W. Va.

"Cut it out, Buster. There's some ways in which automation will never replace man!"

Science is so important a part of our daily lives that some art form seems required to interpret it for us emotionally. What we see in science fiction today, however dimly, is artists and audiences in the process of trying to create livable values in relation to automation, atoms and artificial satellites.

THE SAME—BUT MORE SO: A comparison of our science fiction and Yefremov's is as interesting in its way as are the differences in capitalist and socialist economies and other fields. If this one book may be taken as typical of science fiction under a socialist society—and it reflects a viewpoint that is consistent with materialist theory and the socialist revolution—then our own recent science fiction may typify some of the problems of the capitalist world. Apart from potboiled space operas, the more serious American science fiction generally turns on the one hand to satire and on the other to fantasies.

The science fiction satires extend, or as they like to say in science fiction, extrapolate, particular aspects of capitalist society into the future, as if the future would be like the present but more so. Thus if the world were dominated by advertising monopolies we would have **The Space Merchants** by Pohl and Kornbluth; if by book-burners and the worst of TV, **Fahrenheit 451** by Ray Bradbury; if by an all-encompassing insurance monopoly, **Preferred Risk** by Edson McCann.

THE WILD MUTATIONS: The fantasies base themselves most often on the weaker branches of laissez-faire science: psychology and genetics. We meet psis and telepaths (mind readers to you) and other wildly mutated humans. There are also a variety of invisible or even non-material invaders from space, who are usually evil, and robots and electronic brains which threaten to supersede mankind.

On the credit side of serious American science fiction is the direct or implied social criticism found in the satires and, in the fantasies as well as the satires, much excellent writing and a one-world view which frequently includes a rejection of racisms. Even in the space operas the rocket crew from Earth may be interracial and international. On the debit side, however, we always have personified evil, a human or anti-human villain.

DIFFERENT VILLAINS: This concern with evil and the resort to magical or irrational fantasies is significantly absent from Yefremov's **Stories.** He follows the Jules Verne tradition of optimistic humanism. Yet the absence of villains does not result in an absence of conflict. His antagonists are ignorance, prejudices (including those of bureaucratic scientists) and the blind forces of nature against which intelligence pits itself. In the novelette **Stellar Ships,** men look sympathetically across the geological epochs and light years to a tortoise-faced intelligent biped, for to them intelligence is brotherly.

The theme of wealth which is an ignoble one in the fiction of private property becomes an admirable motive in Yefremov. The heroes of Stories perilously discover deposits of mercury, radium and asphalt for the people, not for themselves or for a financier. Imagined finds in physics and palaeontology are related to the advancement of human knowledge without a single mention of war.

A book for all science fiction fans with a special recommendation for the younger ones. The illustrations in color are adequate but are not up to the writing.

—**Robert Joyce**

STORIES, I. A. Yefremov (in English). Cloth; $1 ppd. At Imported Books, 4 W. 16 St., N.Y. 11; Four Continents Book Corp., 55 W. 56 St., N.Y. 19.

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